Sino – Indian Relations: With Special Reference to the United Progressive Alliance Government (2004 to 2013)

A
SYNOPSIS
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Introduction

India's relations with China, since their independence they have traversed many paths starting from very intense bonhomie manifested in 'Hindi - Chini Bhai Bhai' slogan to bitter rivalry in the aftermath of 1962 war. China and India, the two Asian giants, account for 35 per cent of total world population and 15 per cent of total geographical area of the world. For more than two thousand years, they had cultural, commercial and ideological links. In the present scenario China and India are the emerging powers of the world and they can make 21st Century as 'Asian Century' (Murugnatham, 2011). During the early stage, China and India had been identified as Trans-Himalaya twins. Both the countries are the world's oldest civilization with the history of close contact. In the ancient period, China and India are known as centers of spiritual and religious activity (Pokharna, 2012). Buddhism in India, Confucianism and Buddhism in China prove the point.

After the independence of India in 1947, the People's Republic of China (PRC) was established on 1 October 1949, and India was the first non-communist country to establish an Embassy in PRC. In April 1949, China and India established diplomatic relations (MEA-2014). The two countries also jointly expounded the *Panchsheel* (Five Principles) in 1954 to strengthen peaceful cooperation and co-existence such as; mutual non-aggression, Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty, mutual non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit and peaceful coexistence.

Subsequently in 1962, Sino-Indian conflict led to a serious set-back in bilateral relations. However, both the countries successfully restored bilateral ambassadorial relations in 1976 and the higher political level contacts were revived by the visit of the foreign affairs minister, Atal Bihari Vajpaye to China in 1979. Later with the visit of Indian Prime Minister Rajeev Gandhi to China in 1988, both countries agreed to

develop and expand bilateral relations in all fields. The Sino-India relationship has a massive impact on various developments in Asia and the world as a whole. Gradually the Sino-Indian relationship became one of the most important relationships in the shifting international order irrefutably (Srikanth &Emi, 2012). Among the Asian countries, immense scope lies for both China and India for constructive and cooperative partnership in various fields. However, a deeper scrutiny of Sino-India relations reveals that both have multiple contentious issues between them acting as a major hurdle in instilling the spirit of mutual trust and belief. Border dispute is most dominating factor between two. It has been argued that since the inception of Indian foreign policy, there has been a lack of a concrete and firm Indian policy towards China. Absence of a strategic culture that would have helped shape Indian foreign policy vis-à-vis China since the Nehru era continues even today, boundary issues could not be resolved so far. However China has resolved its border dispute with almost eight countries except India.

The bilateral relations between China and India took a boost with the singing of the agreement on the maintenance of peace and tranquility along the Line of Actual Control (LAC) in the Sino-India Area in 1995, and an agreement on Confidence Building Measure (CBM) in the military field was signed in 1996. India has consistently viewed bilateral relations with China in a positive spirit (Gupta, 2009). India seeks good Neighborly, friendly, cooperative and mutually beneficial relations with China on the basis of the five principles of the peaceful coexistence, mutual sensitivity to each other's concerns and equality. However, bilateral relations suffered a setback after the India's nuclear tests in May 1998. In early 1999, both countries made efforts to resume official level dialogue, with both foreign ministries holding talks. Most importantly, both China & India share positive relationship in the geo-economic sphere. China is an important trading partner of India (www.icbs.in). The BRIC (Brazil, Russia, India and China) and BASIC (Brazil, Africa, Sri Lanka, India and China) groups have acted as a strong

platform to reinforce the vision shared by both the countries, on terrorism, climate change, and WTO (World Trade Organization) negotiations.

Since 2004, during the period of UPA government, Sino-India relations remained fluctuating. China has a massive military presence in Aksai Chin area which seems that it has encircled India through many strategic policies and installation and has been testing India's patience by issuing stapled visas to people living in Jammu and Kashmir. The Chinese intervention and assertiveness along the LAC (Line of Actual Control) clearly indicates that the UPA government has not been able to assert India's sovereignty. However, during this period, China and India once again began sharing positive relationship in the geo-economic sphere. Indian Prime minister held talks with visiting Chinese state councilor Tang Jiaxuan on October 27, 2004, and both spoke highly of the bilateral relations. When Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao visited India in April 2005, both countries signed and issued a Joint Statement of establishing a Strategic and Cooperative Partnership for Peace and Prosperity and pledging to resolve long standing border dispute and boost trade and economic development between the two rising powers. Moreover, they also signed agreement on Trade, Economic Cooperation, and Technology sharing, civil aviation linking major cities of both countries. Further, Chinese President Hu Jintao visited India in November 2006 and both the countries agreed that early settlement of the boundary questions will advance the basic interest of the two countries and it should be pursued as a strategic objective. The year 2006 is known as "India-China friendship year". The major outcome of the visit was a 10 point strategy proposed by both the countries in a joint declaration for further development of bilateral relations (Pokharna, 2009). Ensuring comprehensive development of bilateral relationship, Strengthening institutional linkages and dialogue mechanism, consolidation commercial and economic exchanges, all round mutually beneficial cooperation, instilling mutual trust and confidence through defence cooperation, boosting cooperation in science and technology, seeking early settlement of

outstanding issues, promoting trance-border connectivity and cooperation, revitalizing cultural ties and nurturing people to people exchange and cooperation on regional and international issues.

Subsequently, during the Prime Minister Dr. Man Mohan Singh's visit to China 13 - 15thJanuary 2008, a joint document entitled "A Shared Vision for the 21st Century of the Republic of India and the People's Republic of China" was issued outlining common positions on a number of international and some bilateral issues. Moreover, Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao paid a three day official visit to India 15-17th December 2010. During his visit, six agreements on cultural exchange, green technologies, media exchanges, hydrological data, and banking were signed and a Joint Communiqué were released. During the visit, a bilateral trade target of 100 billion USD was set to be reached by 2015. A Strategic Economic Dialogue and a CEO Forum were established; and 2011 was declared as 'Year of India-China exchange' (MEA 2013). The year 2012, was celebrated as the year of "India-China friendship and cooperation". Both the countries agreeing that the bilateral relations were witnessed a 'very sound momentum' China & India are also unveiled initiatives to boost cultural exchanges and geo-economic trade contacts. However, when Indian foreign minister Salman khurshid visited China on May, 2013, China and India troops stayed in close proximity to each other and the LAC between Jammu and Kashmir's Ladakh region and Aksai-Chin was defused on 5th May 2013. Later the Chinese Primer Li Keying's first foreign visit to India on 18th May 2013 in a bid to resolve border disputes and to simulate economic relations between the two. The momentum of visits continued as China and India moved ahead in different areas of bilateral relations such as educational and cultural exchanges, science and technology cooperation, trade, security dialogues etc.

Statement of the problem

China and India, the two Asian giants, account for 35 per cent of total world population and 15 per cent of total geographical area of the world. China and India have many common interests in Global politics such as similar views on national sovereignty, dignity of human life and the challenges posed by globalization. With the impact of globalization, the center of gravity of the world economy has gradually been transforming to Asia in the 21st century. China and India are reckoned as the 'Pillars' of Asian economic landscape. They are looked upon as the 'twin engines' for Asia's growth and the 'key drivers' of Asian economy. Both countries are experiencing high economic growth (Roy, 2012).The liberal view of relations between China and India expects a peaceful rise of both Asian giants with both countries interlinked to each other with strong economic bonds and also with the same social, environmental and security threats which will force them to eventually work together. Cooperation is the only rationale that both countries can choose for their mutual benefit. India's economic relations with China so far have primarily been guided by the logic of economics. However, in years to come, issues like continued trade imbalance and competition for depleting resources are likely to create friction in economic relationship. Geopolitical and geostrategic considerations are also likely to start impacting this relationship. In the next 5-10 years, China will continue to be India's single largest trading partner and there is unlikely to be any major change in the pattern of trade with India exporting raw materials and importing capital goods, Machinery and components from China. The distinction of China and India as Asian giants owes much to their historical legacy and geographical landscape and their eminence as potential centers of political power and economic strength subscribes to the concepts of Asian country and New Asia. Both the countries are playing significant role at the international level in relation to their economic and

political domains. Sino-India have come a long way since the frosty relationship of the sixties. Both have been experiencing some stability that has come through economic exchanges, high-profile visits etc.

However, despite increasing better bilateral relations on economic front, both have mistrust on the political front. Border dispute is one of major bones of contention. In the International domain, China has been categorized as the Offensive power because of its aggressive policy and India as Defensive power. China has been consistently active in incursions in Ladakh, Arunachal Pradesh and Indian Ocean that have time and again created frictions between the two countries. Moreover, both have been indulged in power game in the South Asian region and are trying to establish their respective hegemony, although India has no compatibility of power with China. By and large, China with its massive economic and military power has created India panic and concern for its security. Moreover, China support to Pakistan, perhaps, against India has been major problem. Both have been playing power game in the region. In fact, India's perception is that China has been creating major security threat to India on the assessment of China's posture in the region. However, with such developments, the relations during the UPA government (2004to 2013) has experienced multiple policy actions and changes which are to be focused through this proposed study.

Significance of the study

Studies conducted so far on Sino-India relations have especially not taken up the relations during the UPA government (2004 to 2013). The relevance of this study also lies in the fact that Sino-India relations have a very important position in China's over all diplomatic relations, and it will be very important in the future; Sino-India friendship is the unshakable mainstream. During the UPA government regime since 2004, the two countries have maintained high level interactions, and both the

countries have close co-operation in the multilateral fields. The study of Sino-India bilateral relationship is significant for both the countries with young population structure, an adequate supply of labors, high level information industry, cultural and educational exchanges, and high competitive sector. The study also significant in terms of reformatting India's foreign policy vis-a-is China. This study is useful for the future researchers, policy makers and Administrators. It also adds a new dimension to the literature of International relations.

Review of literature

Asthana, (1999) in this study the author analyzed that '*The principle thrust of India's South Asian policy'* has been the establishment of friendly relations, co-operation in economic, socio-cultural and other areas, building common security consensus among neighbours and prevention of interference from extra-regional powers. Yet the quality of her relationship varies in a background of highly complex and variable bilateral relationship between India and China. She examined that the traditional, internal and external conditions influencing India's relations with China and rest of South Asian countries under pre- and post-independence generations. South Asia remains one of the major flashpoints left in the world after the end of the cold war. In this context the book strives to provide a futuristic glimpse into the relationship of these proximate nation-states and present a scenario catering to the needs of all-round structural adjustment in a nuclear zed South Asia vis-à-vis global change and compulsions of on the new world order. In the End of this context she studied and assessed the South Asian policy of India laying edifice of twenty-first century relationships for nation states.

Frazier (2004) discussed in the study of 'Quiet *Competition and the Future of Sino-Indian Relations',* that as the International system confronts the political realities of a new century, the two emerging powers of Asia, India and China continue a long and tangled relationship. Frazier examined three

common issues: the similarities and difference between the two countries, strategic cultures, domestic circumstances and international environment, the broader international context for their bilateral relations and tensions that exist between their national interests. A preference for the multidisciplinary approach is evident in his work. He specifically deals with numerous important and unresolved issues which loom in background of Sino-Indian relations and fuel their natural rivalry.

Reddy, (2007) in *'India –China Rapprochement cautious moves'* analyzed that India-China, the two Asian giants have been making efforts to ease out the prevalent tension in their relations. India-China got their relationship enhanced almost from the scratch to a recognizably visible level. Indo-Chinese relations become a conspicuous issue at the international level. Though economic relations between India and China improved significantly, the border issue remains the most confrontational.

Holslag, (2009) in '*China and India: Prospects for Peace (Contemporary Asia in the World)'* analyzed that, for all their spectacular growth, China and India must still lift a hundred million citizens out of poverty and create jobs for the numerous laborers. Both powers hope trade and investment will sustain national unity. He has identified these objectives as new sources of rivalry and argues that China and India cannot grow without fierce contest. Though both countries wish to maintain stable relations, Holslag argued that success in implementing economic reform will give way to conflict. This rivalry is already tangible in Asia as a whole, where shifting patterns of economic influence have altered the balance of power and have led to shortsighted policies that undermine regional stability. He has also demonstrated that despite two decades of peace, mutual perceptions have become hostile, and a military game of tit-for-tat promises to diminish prospects for peace. Therefore refutes the notion that development and interdependence lead to peace, and he does so by embedding rich empirical evidence within broader debates on international relations theory. His study is realistic while also taking into

account the complexities of internal policymaking. The result is a fascinating portrait of the complicated interaction among economic, political, military, and perceptional levels of diplomacy.

Li Li, (2009) in *'Security perception and China-India relations* 'analyzed that, relations between China and India are simultaneously, the implications of their relations have for gone beyond the bilateral level. In this study Li Li, focused on China-India relations with a new approach. By introducing constructivism, a mainstream school of IR theory that emphasizes the role of ideas in international politics. Author examined how a changed security perception on both sides has led to the easing of tensions and a remarkable improvement in the bilateral ties of China and India after the thirty years of a 'cold' relationship. She introduced the argument of constructivism, why security perceptions is selected by this study as the variable to analyze China-India relations. On the basis of analysis she has also predicts the way in which China and India could ensure their simultaneous rise in the coming years and decades.

By examining their respective assessments of the security environment and their respective security strategies, author has also explored how the perception changes have influenced their respective policies towards each other, and how their respective policy adjustments have led to an impressive transformation in their bilateral relations. The last decade of the 20th century witnessed the two countries emerging from their three-decade cold relationship and replacing it with the normal one. With the help of a vast body of literature, including important government sources as well as secondary ones Li Li, explained how security perceptions of China-India have respectively transformed the cold war mindset to the new security perspective built on comprehensive national strength and cooperative security, and explore the concept's influence on their mutual policies.

Ahmed, (2010) in *'China Main threat to India's security'* analyzed that, China has exhibited marked Political, Diplomatic and Military aggressiveness at the tactical level. This has led to anxiety among other states. So now, the author argued that China is seen as a main security threat to India's growth than Pakistan and it's time for India to realize the security implications of China's rising military profile. India tried to maintain very cordial relations with China ever since its independence in 1949. In this context, the author also talked about the Chinese presence in South Asia. China's creating area of influence in South Asia is purely strategic with India in mind. The export of technology and creation of infrastructure in India's neighborhood is largely military oriented. China is increasingly controlling investment and major infrastructure projects in Pakistan, Nepal, Myanmar and Afghanistan. This has been a cause of security concern for India.

Murugantham, (2011) in *'India- China Relations in Perspective'* analyzed that friendly relations between the two countries (India-China) are necessarily for peace and two world at large. But the relations are marked by a Zigzag pattern having a long history of ups and downs. The unresolved territorial dispute, the rise of Chinese nationalism and its military power and the Chinese strategies for India's neighborhoods also had considerable consequences of the course of India-China relations. In this context the researcher analyzed that the Indo-China relations in the light of these issues like ; Indo-China-Border Dispute, Chinese nationalism, Indo-China relations ,China in India's neighborhood. He has also analyzed, that the Chinese new strategies on the South-Asian region have witnessed unique conditions characteristic to be put in to geo-Political context for a further analysis. In the End he has talked about the increase in Beijing's influence along the arc stretching from Pakistan to Myanmar is a significant demonstration of Chinese capabilities in India's neighborhood is a cause of serious concern. It is important for India and Asia that Indo-China relations are forward and long term stability is maintained.

Rathor, (2012) in 'Sino-*India relations-Conflict and cooperation* ' analyzed that the rise of China-India will be a force for global prosperity and a force for peace as the two nations pursue the kind of economic and political reforms that will account for 39 percent share of global output which is almost equal to present share of US and Europe. This study seeks to throw light on the picture of economic relations which have strengthened in the past two decades, future of trade, repercussions of the rise of China-India on Asian subcontinent and the world as well as issues of conflict between the two countries, and to what extent will the issues of conflict will be resolved between the two nations relationships. In this she had also assessed the bilateral trade, economic and technological cooperative relations between the two countries. Therefore an attempt has been made to test the hypothesis that the strengthening of economic relations between both the countries will lead to normalcy in political relations and resolve boundary disputes.

Horiatis, (2012) in the study of '*Indo-China relations: Bonhomie with Ambivalence'* analyzed that the complexity of bi-lateral interactions, state to state relationship can be very remarkable. He addresses issues of Bonhomie with Ambivalence between India and China. The Indo-Chinese relationship during the cold war period was marked by sensitive border issues and lopsided international power structure. Horiatis says that the 1990's a stable international environment and healthy domestic economies based around economic liberalization policies have seemed to have opened the door for smoother bilateral relations. In this study he has critically analyzed the positive factor i.e. economic relations, concerned cooperation in multilateral fields ,identical orientation towards a multi polar world order and the negative factor i.e. boundary issues, China's South Asian Policy, Quadrilateral approach that have affected India-China relations. He has also talked about the importance of the international environment. The international environment has taken the back seat to domestic issues and the economy in determining interaction between the two nations.

Chakraborty, (2012) in *'Weighing India-China relations in the 21st century: An Analytical Assessment under the NDA and UPA Governments*' compared India's relations with China under the two governments (NDA &UPA), the perception remains that the NDA government. Exhibited more pragmatism and China –focus. The lack of China-focus by the UPA-I govt. is primarily attribute to the domestic strains of coalition politics that it countenanced, While giving final shape to the nuclear deal with US. However, mere computation of high level exchange and bilateral trade only provides the tangible elements of the mutual calculus and ignores the immeasurable and intangible determinants, like the nature of international politics, relational dynamics with neighboring countries, the imperative of seeking newer avenues of cooperation and the psyche of the population and measure of erosion of the mental block that the people of the two countries have harboured against each other since the border war of 1962. While dealing with the implications of the transformed world scenario in the context of the new global order that brought New Delhi and Beijing closer to each other. Author analyzed that the NDA government adopted more pragmatic Policy towards in China.

Hardwar, (2013) in *'The India-China relationship possible new paradigm'* analyzed that the India – China relations need to "Cast off the transient and reveal of truth" these words of a 13th century Japanese Buddhist priest, if applied to the true Asian values of compassion, cooperation and belief in the innate dignity of life and discarding the lesser self that seeks destruction and war. India has got concert trapped into an anti-Chinese matrix set in place by the United States .This has led to a situation when the military is increasing its say in foreign and domestic policy and pushing aggressive postures on to the civilian government. War with china is not an option because we cannot afford it and jeo3pardize our development goals. We need uninterrupted peace for at least half a century to reach close to where china stands today.

Mohan, (2013) in his study, Samudra Manthan: Sino-Indian Rivalry in the Indo-Pacific; a latest book on Maritime Strategy, has broken a new ground in using a familiar Indian fable to illuminate a contemporary reality. In this book his main objectives are to explore the dynamics of Sino-Indian maritime competition in the expanded theatre of the Indo-Pacific. The trajectory which this rivalry will take, the author argues, would be heavily influenced by the role of the United State, which continues to be the dominant power in the region. The problem with this parallel is that it appears to preclude the possibility of India-China and perhaps the US as well as seeing their interest converge in upholding a maritime regime in the Indo-Pacific region, which provides mutual resources. Raja Mohan is right in drawing attention to the fact that both India and China have historically been oriented to the offence of their land frontiers. The emergence of India-Pacific as a single maritime theater is a major insight that the author offers in his book. The Asia pacific region has become the fastest growing component of India's external economic relations. For China, the Indian Ocean has become a main conflicting point for the delivery of its energy supplies as well as for its export to the Gulf, Africa and Europe. The author also analyzed a critical Role of USA in determining the eventual outcomes of the Sino-India maritime rivalry. In this triangular relationship, he explored the possibility of China and the US finding a modern Vivendi which may leave India isolated. On the other side, China could well turn the game by resolving the long standing border dispute with India and thus enabling a more cooperation rather than competitive maritime relationship.

Objectives

1. To analyze the historical background of Sino-Indian relations.
2. To examine the major basis related to Sino-Indian bilateral relations.
3. To study the relational policy changes between China and India during the Period of UPA government 2004-2013.

4. To study power politics between China and India in the South Asian region.

Hypotheses

1. China and India have historically been oriented to the offence of their land frontiers.
2. The major basis of Sino-Indian relations are Bilateral Trade, Economic exchanges, security perception, commercial and technological sources, Cultural and Educational exchanges.
3. Border dispute between India and China has continuously affecting bilateral relations even during the Period of the UPA government (2004 to 2013).
4. The increasing military and economic strength of both the nations have created power game in the South Asian region.

Research Methodology

***Research Design*:-**

Descriptive and Analytical research design will be chosen in the study.

Sources of Data Collection:-

Both primary and secondary sources of data collection will be used.

- Primary sources: Personal interviews with the experts in field. The primary data will be collected by using structure Interview-Schedule framed by the researcher

- Secondary sources: Books, Newspapers, Journals, Internet, Magazines, Official Documents and records of Indo-China agreements.

Content analysis will be used for Secondary data analysis.

CHAPTER SCHEME

(The proposed chapters are tentative)

Chapter I: Introduction

(a) Statement of the problem

(b) Significance of the study

(c) Review of literature

(d) Objectives

(e) Hypotheses

(f) Research methodology

Chapter II: The Controversial issues related to Sino-Indian relations.

Chapter III: Sino-Indian bilateral relations during the UPA Government (2004 to 2013): Political and Military Dimension

Chapter IV: Chapter V: Sino-Indian bilateral relations during the UPA Government (2004 to 2013): Economic and Cultural Dimension

Chapter V: Dimensions of Sino-India Power Game in South Asia

Chapter VII: Conclusion and Suggestions

Appendices

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